[For general elaboration and critique of sources 1: Hollis and 11: Leakey, see source 12: Fox, category 116.]

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PREFACE

THE Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Másaé (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

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customs of the Masai are both numerous and varied, but comparatively little is known of their language. The following books, which contain either short vocabularies or grammatical notes, are probably all that exist [1].

I. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Eloikop*, Krapf, Tubingen, 1854.

II. *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob*, Erhardt, Ludwigsburg, 1857.

III. *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, New, London, 1874.

IV. *Nubische Grammatik* (Einleitung), Lepsius, Berlin, 1880.

V. *Massailand-Expedition*, Fischer. (Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1882-3).

VI. *A Visit to the Masai People*, Last. The Geographical Journal, 1883.

VII. *Die Sprache der Il-Oigob* (die sogenannten Wakuafi und Masai). Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (Band III), Müller, Vienna, 1884.

VIII. *Polyglotta Africana orientalis*, Last, London, 1885.

IX. *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, Johnston, London, 1886.

X. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Baumann, Berlin, 1894.

XI. *Masai Grammar*, Hinde, Cambridge, 1901.

XII. *The Uganda Protectorate*, Johnston, London, 1902.

My endeavour in writing this book has been to place on record some of the thoughts and ideas of the Masai people, before their extinction or their admixture with Bantu elements and contact with civilization renders this an impossibility. The stories, the proverbs, the riddles, the songs, and the account of the customs and beliefs of this interesting people are all given in the words of the relaters themselves.

My thanks are due to Sir C. Eliot for many valuable hints, and for the kindly interest he has shown in my work; to Mr. W. J. Monson for the free translation of the songs and prayers; to Mr. R. J. Stordy and to Saleh bin Ali for the loan of their photographs; and to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and to the officials of the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, East Africa Protectorate, for determining the names of the trees and plants.

In conclusion I wish to pay a tribute of the highest praise to the work of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa.

[1] When this was written Merker's book *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904) had not been published.

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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

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the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand.

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include.

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B. BERNARDI I. M. C.

THE AGE-SYSTEM OF THE MASAI

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I. Introduction and bibliography. – II. Tribal divisions and other social elements of the Masai. – III. Preliminaries to the institution of the age-class. – IV. Individual initiation. – V. The age-units and their mutual relationship. – VI. The final institution of the age-unit. – VII. The internal structure of the age-unit. – VIII. The function of the age-unit. – IX. The ceremonies for the institution of the age-class. – X. The general pattern of the initiation ceremonies. – XI. The prophet and the institution of the age-classe. – XII. The relationship of class-members. – XIII. Conclusions.

I – INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the October issue, 1952, of *Africa*, the *Journal of the International African Institute*, I published a critical evaluation of the age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples. That evaluation was based on an analysis of the existing anthropological literature of which the present paper offers the section on the Masai. It will be followed, I hope, by other papers on the other Nilo-Hamites. In the last few years intense fieldresearch has been going on, and new material is being made available. This will make it possible to fill in the gaps and complete the picture of the Nilo-Hamitic age-system. All this analytical work should be preliminary to a deeper study of Nilo-Hamites' social and religious organisation and possibly provide a basis for defining their cultural-historical relation with such other peoples as the Bantu-Hamites of East Africa, the Kikuyu, the Kamba, etc. 114

The literature on the Masai is comparatively voluminous, though much of it is irrelevant and unreliable and makes reading confusing and any analytical work complicate. I shall not compile here a full bibliography, but limit my indication to the actual works which deal with the age system and a few others I have used. I wish to thank 127

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tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is. [35] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution. [36]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *olđ aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol poror*, pl. *il poror*. [37] These terms are frequently rendered into

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[35] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the *laibon* is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[36] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophetinstitution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, l. c., pp. 323, 331.

[37] MERKER, l. c., pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 122, 261 ss.; LEAKY, l. c., pp. 191 ss.; FOX, l. c., p. 449; FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 25.

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of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This particular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

" *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

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88 56 in sight. Victory consists in getting a hold of the bullock by its right horn and maintaining the grip.

c) After the contest the bull is smothered, and skinned; rings are made out of the skin and distributed by the *ol opolos*.[46] "The meat is eaten and the elders go to a place apart to pray to God for the boys. The age is then given a name which is kept until the *E-Unoto* ceremony, which takes place some years later". (Fox).

The bones of the ox are burnt and the fire is guarded to avoid any evil spell being cast on it.

Eventually the boys return to their homes and wait for their turn to be circumcised.

The fact that "only the right hand circumcision", i. e. the first of the two age-units of an age class, performs the ceremony is essential to an analysis of the significance of *Embolosat*.[47] It means that *Embolosat* is the first ceremony of the initiation which institutes the class, and not simply of the initiation which institutes the age-unit. Indeed the left hand circumcision, i. e. the junior age-unit of the class, does not perform *Embolosat*, and therefore the senior age-unit acting at *Embolosat* does it on behalf of the whole class. *Embolosat* should then be regarded as the starting point of a new class, opening the period during which the class is instituted. This specific value of *Embolosat* is confirmed by the acceptance on the part of all the Masai of the Kakonyuke ceremony. We do not know the reason why this ceremony should have such a paramount importance, but its social significance seems to be a thoroughly established fact. LEAKEY states that "only one ox-seizing ceremony (is held) in the whole Masai country, before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcison". This statement is qualified by FOX in the sense that *Embolosat* is also performed by other sections, as we mentioned above, but the Kakonyuke must first perform it. Of the Kisongo FOSBROOKE writes: "the elders are extremely vague as to its (of *Embolosat*) meaning, but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul".

[46] According to LEAKEY, the *ol opolos* is given a thong made from the skin and he is supposed never to throw it away, an obligation which does not apply to the youths who are given the rings.

[47] In the chart of Masai "age-grades" arranged by FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 24, *embolossi* is shown as taking place before the two circumcision periods of the age-units. This does not agree with the evidence offered by FOX.

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warriorhood". He also states that *Unoto* "is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Unoto*" states the same report, "lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX, [94] "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, "but by no means all". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says "not so big"; HOLLIS "small". Leakey and Fox state respectively "an enormous", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

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MERKER,[106] states that each year for three successive years, candidates are individually initiated and formed into separate minimal age-divisions. A fourth one follows immediately before the closing ceremony is celebrated. He does not state the length of the interval between two successive closing ceremonies. 561

HOLLIS,[107] is very definite on this point. He writes that individual initiation is performed for four years in succession, and all those initiated during these years belong to the right-hand unit. "An interval of about three and half years then intervenes before another festival is held". All those initiated during the netx four years belong to the left-hand unit. Therefore, according to HOLLIS, the period for the institution of each age-unit would be about seven and half years.

LEAKEY,[108] states that *Unoto* is celebrated after "nine years of junior warriorhood". But FOX,[109] disputes this and says that "nowadays it takes place from three to five years after initiation".

WHITEHOUSE,[110] writes that "the (initiation) ceremonies which commence about every 7 years extend over a period of about 5 years".

FOSBROOKE,[111] says that the right-hand unit performs *Unoto* 7 years after their initiation period has been opened; and the left-hand unit 5 years after it.

All these statements show clearly that there is no hard and fast definition of the period for the institution of the age-units, and they are evidence that our system of measuring time does not apply to the Masai. The major factor for fixing that period are the presence of candidates, the authority of the elders stating that the right time for performing the various ceremonies has come, and also the regular occurrence of good rainy seasons.

We may, however, say that the period of seven-eight years is a good approximation of what obtains in actual fact. If we take

[106] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 70.

[107] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 262. His actual words be misleading. He states that "one feast (circumcision feast) is held in each subdistrict every year for four years in succession". But it is certain that circumcision is not performed at one single ceremony in each sub-district, but in any village where there are candidates. [114]

[108] LEAKY, *l. c.*, p. 194.

[109] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[110] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 146.

[111] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 25.

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residential place of the initiates, and the *sirit* which is a manifold grouping of comradeship.

The *manyatta* is the village where the initiates live in segregation from other people. Externally it does not differ from any ordinary village. Some authorities state that there is only one *manyatta* for each territorial section.[124] But FOX,[125] qualifying LEAKEY, states that this is only true for some special occasions as when all the initiates of one section come together to perform some special ceremonies, as, e. g., *Unoto*.

In the *manyatta* the initiates are assisted by their mothers who do the housework, and by some uninitiated girls (*na sandja* or *ditto*)[126] who are there mostly for their sexual pleasure.[127] Uninitiated boys may also live in the *manyatta* for the menial works and for tending cattle.[128]

The groupings named *sirit*, pl. *isirit*, are formed, according to WHITEHOUSE,[129] at a meeting called by the *ingobir* when it is decided to build the *manyatta*. Membership of the *sirit* is a matter of free choise. An initiate is free to join any *sirit*, and he is free to change it for another soon after his first election. But if he does so when the *manyatta* has been formed, he "incurs the bitter resentment" of his *sirit*-mates, and he may even be fined for that.

As far as numbers go, WHITEHOUSE states that "groups of 5 (initiates) will go together to join the same company" (*sirit*).[129] MERKER, however, says that the inhabitants of a single *manyatta*

[124] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 82; LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 192; HINDE, *l. c.*, p. 91 writes that "every section has usually some three favourite districts, in each of which is a village, called 'mangatta'".

[125] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 451.

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 83.

[127] Although the sexual life of the initiates with these girls is promiscous and free, full sexual intercourse is strongly condemned.

[128] According to MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 110, the initiates who belong to the smith trade usually do not share the village with the other initiates, but have their own villages and the girls who live with them are from families of the same trade. The smith initiates organise their own raids, but because they are few their booty is always small and they are easily deprived of it by other warriors.

[129] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 150.

[129] WHITEHOUSE described the *sirit* as based on the clan. The *MS*, 46, p. 8, states that "*emanyata* is inhabitated by the *moran* of one particular clan". It seems, however, that this is not a fixed principale, and certainly does not obtain with the Kisongo. *Cf.* FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 28.

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they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid. [126]

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER, [126] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*). [127] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates) [128] constitute the peace-time force (Friedenasstärke), under conscription. [129]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal. [130] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[126] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 291, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[127] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[128] " The shaved ones ", (*el barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[129] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[130] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht (im Heer...).

[131] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

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Thereupon we infer that the function of the age-unit is primarily social. Its scope is to organise the initiates into a corporate body, separate and distinct from other similar bodies, and to lead them, both as individuals and as a corporate whole, towards a full social and economic independence and towards taking a full share in political life. [150]

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IX – THE CEREMONIES FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE CLASS

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The institution of the age class is brought about by the performance of some special ceremonies, of which the most important is the *ngekerr* proper. Before this takes place, other ceremonies, such as " the slaughtering of the ox with jousting " (*ol geten l ol baa*), " the *ngekerr* of milk " and " the *ngekerr* of meat ", must be performed by every initiate. Through these performances the initiate obtains the status of an elder. The *ainoni* is the forerunner of all his age-mates. As was seen, at *Uaata*, he is given the status of an elder, and soon after that he settles down as a married man. [884]

LEAKEY, [151] states that a warrior (i. e. an initiate) who marries cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife. [152] FOX, [153] qualifies LEAKEY's statement and says that such a case " is hypothetical, and does not occur in practice ", because usually the senior initiates marry after the *ngekerr* of milk.

MERKER, [154] is our only authority for " the slaughtering of the ox with jousting ". The ceremony consists in a meat festival offered by the candidate to the elders of the neighbourhood of his father's village. Other initiates share the meat, but eat apart being still under the restrictions of junior initiates. A mock fight follows in which the initiates and women take part. Finally before the sun sets, " a married man with his chief wife comes near to their host and addresses him with the following words ": [539]

[150] Each unit seems to be distinguished from the other by its peculiar songs. FOX, *l. c.*, p. 454, states that almost all of these songs are in a " rather cryptic language ". [533]

[151] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 200.

[152] LEAKEY was somehow misled in his information; he also states *l. c.*, p. 196, that " the actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elder's stage takes place without any ceremonial ", which is not correct. [114]

[153] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 455.

[154] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 102 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179]

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] "On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened".

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that "the age grades" have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 12.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 3, "lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 315, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 16: "But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Eunkolinoni*, *Unete* and *Ngakaw* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or hold some stand down".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

56 79 [114] institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office. His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on "the incompatibility" of the *laibon* institution "with the original culture" of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after [114] an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [56]

841 574 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what form of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would "be cursed by his own class. This [536] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack." [56]

[56] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 47; HOLLIS, l. c., p. 280; FOX, l. c., p. 168.

[56] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: "When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Kimaro* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Kimaro* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 F1:12 Maori F2:12

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a concordance of clan-names with dates and some known historical facts.[***] At this stage there is no need to indicate how the very precise 14 years interval is misleading: dates must be taken as a vague attempt to a correct translation of Maori age-system into our system.[***]

	MEDLEY (1896)	FOX (1899)	FORNANDER (1880)		
1	-	1) Hoohoge	-		
2	-	2) Kalaunk	-		
3	3) Ungi	3) Ungi	Ungi	1700	– *Members of this clan are by consolidated by many elders.*
4	4) Kinorei	-	Kinorei	1761	
5	5) Marieiheri	4 Marieiheri	Marieiheri	1808	
6	6) Kiderie	5) Kiderie	Kiderie	1851	
7	7) Dweli	6) Tweli	Dweli	1898	
8	8) Hungei	7) Hyungeri	Hyungeri	1951	– *One or two members still alive.*
9	9 Aimere	8) Aimere	Laimere	1969	
10	-	9) Tahiki	Dahiki	1991	– *Females, kindergart and smallgirls.*
11	-	10) Tweli	Dweli	2038	– *First contact with Europ. folks.*
12	-	11) Tamoe	Damoe	2111	– *The great war.*
			Kimiki	1998	– *Right-hand unit.*
			Marikiko	1938	– *Left-hand unit.*

[14] [***] Figures of years are described by Fornander as the " approximate date of circumcisions. The expression is very vague and shows how inaccurate the usual terminology is. Following our analysis it seems clear that " circumcision " means here " age-class ", and, therefore, dates may be referred to either the performance of *Rahokoai* or the performance of the *Tohunga* proper.

[14] [***] A fourth list recorded by Stevens, l. c., p. 266, is not reproduced here because it is evident from a comparison with the other lists that it contains " an indiscriminate mixture of age (suti) and class-names " (Fox).

In Mallie G-S (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Sheet FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows the whole is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngai, ol-le-ngai-yio* (etc. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if the uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but persistence would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly day, father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngoloni*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be reckoned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngoloni*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and no payment receives less one of every pair of cow's goats born.

Free cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on exactly these lines (*as above*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the son's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the son's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the son's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These rules are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clans.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with unmarried girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may admit as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-purko, Il-Kisongo, Il-Arusa, Il-Matapato,* and *Il-Ayankore*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g. the *Il-Loitai* contain amongst others the following: *Il-ghilidyi* and *Il-Purkonak*. No man belonging to the *Il-ghilidyi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkonak* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Kisongo, Il-Arusa, Il-Matapato,* or *Il-Ayankore* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are scattered to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not allowed by geographical considerations, and a man like the same tenth married relations in all the sub-divisions as he has in his own town sub-division.

In his recent book, *The Marriage of the Il-Kidinga and other Masai Laikipiak Tribes* (Cambridge, 1913), Dobley states (p. 161) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. In a number of text the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans (*see* which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the cousin of different sub-clans and sub-tribes.

[P. ii]

[1] With the exception of Chapter II, the matter contained in this Administrative and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II. has been compiled from early unpublished manuscripts and published books, and acknowledgment is due to the Rev. A. C. Hollis, C.M.G., for his assistance in arranging and in checking. Credit for this chapter is also due to Mr. Kenworthy, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative centres with the tribe.

[2] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text have considerable inaccuracies although, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is unsurveyed. The given general maps must be regarded only as illustrative, and it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position is therefore tentative.

[3] A note of [illegible] in the spelling of tribal and geographical names pervades the official records, and the spelling adopted here, although in most cases commonly employed, makes no pretension to philological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SAFEMPORD.

Nairobi,

October 30th, 1919.

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Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of L'Ologu—Dr. Charles Hobley's theory—European tradition—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Sclavement's route to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's descriptions—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's visit to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern discovery—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plagues—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakwavi—Relations between Nyeri, Fort Hall and Kikuyu—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Acts of Engaiboni—Drought results—Fort Smith—Masai locusts—Meaning of Kidongo—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Policies of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Nyeri—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Lekony Massera—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Mr. Arthur Hamilton's report—Mr. Charles Hobley's report—Imperial Institute—Province in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Mr. Charles Hobley's report, April, 1902—The year 1900-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 Pastoral and agricultural sections.
173

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, and which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to the members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as L'Ologu, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the L'Ologu, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Ngorongoro, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Elmenteita, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of L'Ologu.

174 Sir Charles Hobley's theory.
114

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Hobley, is that the pastoral Masai cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warrior detached themselves.

179 Masai raids.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the surrounding pastoral sections. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to secure sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakwafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural sections, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains.

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Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo[1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aiser*[2] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Pârit. Pârit[3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Siare*[4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

683 (a) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the northern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Mulgo and Kiteto.

[2] Circumcision of 1879, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Pârit is a brother of Sidai and Kimelewa, of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the medicine-men or *'L-oibonok*. Ol-Gunya (*Lenana*) was Pârit's father, and Pârit is Sidai's brother by a different mother. Pârit came down to Tanganyika to 1913 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Turiani. (GSE; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Circumcision of 1898, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young soldiers of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another.

MASAI BURIAL PLACE, 1883.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Mpeza as related to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

173 the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usegara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal loi Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidetu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamets o ndarvia, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilasa known as Kilesta. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Ngasa country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

173 179 184 It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; *cf.* Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1880, was settled at Lavhaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyanguai, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Ngasi, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kitatu were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Rovu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Datwa lul Orokiabu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lul Kurvio (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mwesandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Ilgisiala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Ngasi and Barungi tribes extended slightly further to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the *endungore* ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privleges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *oseret onyuki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior morn.

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Unoto ceremony.

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *ngeherr* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. But as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the mature girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Merisho of Kibaya who at Kibaya quarrelled with a Kisale of Makami. The Kibaya Kisale promptly gave the Merisho a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Makami Kisale appeared on the scene to beat the Merisho. But having heard that the Kibaya Kisale had done the job for them they went home forthwith.

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storrs Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and eldership, and only Leakey and Hunted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion.

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kisongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Mugulat near Musa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

561 also by tradition join in the Kissongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loliondo are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purku of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of those sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend; some are doubtless detained by family matters; others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seizing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the *launon* or olotuno, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The [114] details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the unoto; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngeherr ceremony — economic status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

561 582 It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the *ngeherr* ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

561 The final step between warrior- and elder-hood is taken at the *olngeherr* or *olngesher* ceremony. Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *embolosat* starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kissongo *ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand. It is traditionally held at Oldonyo loo 'Imoruak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanya, Meshi District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, showing entrance to elderhood. A single official, *ol-loo-suratya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which such culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai mode of life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the unhygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disase brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105 114

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours to this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (*ol-karsis* in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief: *mwungati* in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [661]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out: and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

105 114 measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural misuse has caused the drainage systems in the Mbulu, Irangi and Uluguru Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in rotation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontrovertibly be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in obedience to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organised religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable apeing.

000 The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the vacated land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expect to be handed well-watered, 'fly-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tsetse-infested bush in Masailand awaiting utilisation to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shews that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

PREFACE.

In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted, since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

Birth.—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

Naming Ceremony.—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII–XV.]

By D. Storrs Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1925 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185–209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other matters with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Arusha, Samburu Njempe and Ngurumun, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I knew about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which then dries. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *E-geresi e-narng'ep*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 321.)

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognise their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 36 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiakiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasiaki iyook*. *Tasiaki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [332]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 284

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

114 The sources from which a survey of the Nilo-Hamites of Kenya and Tanganyika Territory can be compiled go back, with a few exceptions, to the beginning of the present century. To the 19th century, however, belong a few notable works like those of the missionaries Krapf (1854) and Erhardt (1857), and the travellers Fischer (1885), Thomson (1885), Harry Johnston (1898), von Höhnel (1894). The first detailed tribal monographs come early in the present century, beginning with those of Hollis on the Masai (1905) and the Nandi (1909), followed by Merker on the Masai (1910), Beech on the Suk (1911), Dempwolff on the Barawoli (1916), and Perlstainy on the Kipsikis (1939). A large number of papers and a few books published up to 1953 have added to our knowledge, if not always in as much detail as one would have wished. These have been freely drawn upon, and our thanks are due to all of them.

We are happy to acknowledge help received in the preparation of this volume. For the Barabaig, on whom there is no published literature at all (except a few scanty linguistic notes which are outside the scope of this Survey), I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gordon M. Wilson, who generously and unhesitatingly provided me with advance material from his recently completed field work. I have also had the advantage of discussing the Masai with Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke, Senior Government Sociologist, Tanganyika, who was good enough to put his knowledge of the Masai at my disposal; I have also to acknowledge his generosity both in allowing me to make use of his unpublished "Sociological Report on the Iraqw of Mbulu District," and for reading my summaries of the Masai and Iraqw. To Mr. Wilfred Whiteley, lately Government Anthropologist, Tanganyika, I am glad to acknowledge the benefit I have derived from discussing with him the Iraqw and Masai; and I have to thank him for several details of Iraqw organization. Lastly, I have to thank John Tombo Ole Mbari for the willing help he has given me in the course of many talks about the ethnography and language of his people, the Masai.

In preparing the section on the Masai I have made use of a summary prepared by Miss E. MacHatton, by whose industry I was much helped, especially with regard to the material contained in Merker's *Die Masai*; and I have acknowledge the use made of her work. I am also grateful to Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, for patiently answering the many queries which I put to her. I have discussed questions of orthography, in particular that of Masai, with Professor A. N. Tucker, but I have not in every case, for reference purposes, adhered to his spelling as used in the *Handbook of African Languages*.

C. W. B. Huntingford.

[pp. iv and v not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

..54 if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *el-oji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *el-oji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engare, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or ebutiono, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Elkiboo, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Enaiboi, older than the Elkiboo. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimiriaboo, the aged persons."[1] A woman is classed as a girl (*nenil, en-kiyio*; older, *en-tito*) till married, when she becomes *e-nanaikik*, "young married woman," and then *en-kiok*, married woman.

GDI [71] ***Kinship and Behaviour***

The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi people; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi also; and though the word *ootua*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *ilot*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[2] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tomlin ole Mpaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[3]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko, papa*, and *yeyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko*; *papa* and *yeyio* are the current words for "father" and "mother" (not *nenye* and *gaa*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apa* and its derivatives take gender signs (*al-apa, a-ke-nk-apa, en-a-nk-apa, al-apaisai, enk-apaisai*); so do *ahai* or *ahayio* (*al-ahai, enk-ahai*); *ooloo* (*al-ooloo, en-a-ooloo*); *e-nanaai* (only feminine); *al-aiyioni, en-kito*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kiroi*, "child," referring to either sex); and *al-alaaka*, brother, *enk-anaaka*, sister, which have in addition the normal change of *l* to *ll* indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *al-ahai* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *al-ahai*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *al-apa*. The wives of all *-ahai* are *koko*; but the wife of *al-apa* is *papa*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *al-apaisai*; (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *a-ke-nk-apa*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yeyio*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *al-apa*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yeyio*; husband of father's sister is *al-aiyioni*, of mother's sister, *a-ke-nk-apa*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *al-alaaka*, and their wives *e-nanaai*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-nanaai e-nyuki* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anaaka*, and their husbands *al-aiyioni*. Father's sister's son is *al-apa*, and his wife *papa*; mother's brother's son is *a-ke-nk-apa* and his wife *papa*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-a-nk-apa* and her husband *a-ke-nk-apa*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (*enaa-, a-ke-, kaa-, en-a-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-a-nk-apa*.

[1] Dahlerup, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling the Masai words are as here, if spelt, if necessary. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[2] *J.A.I.*, 1905, XL, pp. 418-32. This supplements Hollis's account in the *Masai*, pp. 280-9. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Dorothy Bowen in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 161-89.

[3] It must be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Masai; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, of twelve; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the earlobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrized patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), knives, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and a single arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "elkonyi-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that often between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and a hilt in a red leather sheath attached to the left. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Elkonyi have borrowed them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and of the kind in Fig. 24b (a normal) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Beliefs and Customs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky), *Ai* to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (and also not of the body), but the alleged belief that the soul of a killed or sick man lives like a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. The earlier reports require investigation, and Merker's statement that each Masai is born to possession by his guardian angel and lot in life (*Enk-ai*) if he has been good, also in Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognized as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. None of the persons recorded believe in identities of both *Enk-ai* and Wanbara, the latter who died c. 1890, then Thomson heard the Il-Ariangulo preaching to *Enk-ai* and Wanbara, and the Purkli war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Wanbara's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Wanbara. The "almost deity called Nowiduk," which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Nebendoth. "the southern Heaven God and man." But the Masai word *naiowidupi* means no more than "that which keeps the earth," and this would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as rainer. *Enk-ai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Orupis*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out by the herders, to the west of the kraal, and left on the left side or their side face bodily eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and [illegible] hand from the breast. The

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[illegible]	= [illegible]
[illegible]	= [illegible]
[illegible]	= [illegible]
[illegible]	= [illegible]
[illegible]	= [illegible]
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(48) THE NORTHERN NILO-HAMITES

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14 Ore & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL13 Kikuyu FL10

The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes.

By J. B. ORR, D.S.O., M.C., M.D., D.Sc. (Director, Rowett Research Institute, Aberdeen), and J. L. GILKS, F.R.C.S.(Ed.) (Director, Medical and Sanitary Services, Kenya Colony and Protectorate).

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The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Coleman, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first few months.

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

A physical examination was made of 8,360 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 250 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of anæmia deficiencies, dental caries, periodontitis, stomatitis, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representative of the average native of the Reserves.

Hospital returns were analysed, but as it became apparent that, for

* The prefix "a" in Akikuyu (as a collective noun, the word "Akikuyu" signifying in the tribe as a whole, while the word "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 700,000 and 48,000.

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(v) *Conclusions.*

In all these blood examinations, the only outstanding point of difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases is the high inorganic phosphorus in the blood in ulcer. It is of interest to consider the calcium and inorganic phosphorus results together :—

	Serum calcium, mg. per 100 c.c.	*Inorganic phosphorus, mg. per 100 c.c.*
European standards ..	10·0 to 10·8 ..	3
Europeans in Kenya ..	11·4 ..	3·42
Non-ulcer natives ..	9·4 ..	3·68
Ulcer cases	9·7 ..	4·38

It appears very unlikely that the alteration in balance of calcium and phosphorus in the blood of the natives should be in any way due to environmental influences, since both elements are increased in approximately the same proportion in Europeans. We have already seen that a shift in the direction of high phosphorus, low calcium, occurs in experimental animals on diets containing an excess of phosphorus and deficient in calcium, and the lack of balance in the native dietary, which is closely similar to these experimental diets, would suffice to explain a high phosphorus and low calcium content in the blood. It does not, however, explain the difference between ulcer and non-ulcer cases, for the ulcer cases are as much higher in inorganic phosphate than the non-ulcer that their calcium would be expected to be significantly lower. Instead of being lower, it is as low as high.

It would be of great interest to know whether in the individual case a rise in calcium or phosphorus occurs subsequently to the development of ulcer, and also whether any change occurs in the form in which calcium is present in the blood. It has been suggested by Greenwald and Gross (1925) that part of the calcium may normally be held in solution in the blood as calcium phosphate, which would be physiologically inert. An increase in this fraction might be thought to occur. Further, Aubbard and Hernandez (1930), in analyses of the blood of over 800 subjects in Porto Rico, report that blood calcium is low, relatively to accepted standards, especially in cases of " nutritional anhalanon," and that the decrease is chiefly in the diffusible fraction.

It is stated that tropical ulcer cannot be produced by experimental inoculation of the characteristic organisms unless an artificial [illegible] (Greenwood, 1919; Breinl, 1918). It does not occur in Europeans, according to Edge (1931), except where the diet is restricted. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether it could be experimentally produced by inoculation of the organisms into animals in which the composition of the blood had first been altered by feeding on ill-balanced, high phosphorus, low calcium diet.

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124 investigators and therefore reflect, unclouded, the feelings of the savage.

128 Concerning the origin of the first two chapters of the fourth part, the tradition from primitive times and a comparative study of the /vi/ traditions of the Maui and the Societies, etc., it should also be said that I first completed the former, in the form in which it appears, as a result of my research, and only afterwards did I approach a comparison with the traditions of the Bible. As alluring as it seemed to compare immediately what was told me by the Maui with Biblical accounts, I nevertheless had to resist this temptation, in order to avoid letting myself be unconsciously influenced in the manner of putting the questions in the
• 114 checking. It may be mentioned further that it was not until the
125 fifth year after the beginning of the work on the present study
773 that I came across the traditions from ancient times. That is, these are by no means common on people's lips, but are handed down in certain families, so that even in the larger Maui settlements one finds only very few old men who can relate them in detail. But even these few tell the investigator about them only when they know him intimately and know that he also knows them and their psyche intimately. Only when I had gone so far that
(124) the people seriously discussed the question as to whether I might not have been one of them, perhaps from the time of their residence in their original homeland, did I learn about these traditions. Yet it still took one and a half years before I had searched out what is presented in the five chapters of the fourth part. I mention this here so that other investigators who turn their attention to the Maui in other regions may not allow themselves to become discouraged if their efforts remain for a long time without the hoped-for success.

128 In the second chapter of the same part I present, among other things, a series of conjectures -- not unfounded, I believe -- which make absolutely no claim of incontestable correctness. Although this already clearly follows from the wording, it may
(121) be expressly pointed out here, especially for those who have something to find fault with in everything. I probably hardly need

/w/ Foreword to the Second Edition

• 114 Five years ago, when the first edition appeared, it found an extraordinarily good reception for such a scientific work directed, after all, to a limited circle of readers, so that in three years it was already out of print. Though sharp attacks also were not lacking, nevertheless the general opinion was that it was a matter of a work of the highest scientific value and greatest colonial interest. Merker, therefore, with great enthusiasm, set about preparing everything for a second edition, and in 1907, when he returned to Africa for the third time, he was essentially finished with the preliminary work for it. The revolt in East Africa, however, prevented him from finishing it for a longer period of time; then he was transferred to Moshi /Mawenzi/ and was once again impeded in his work by his duties as head of the station in this area which was new to him. Nevertheless, he was busily at work, and I had just received a letter from him with instructions for the publishing of the second edition, when the news of his sudden death reached me quite unexpectedly in February, 1910. This necessitated a further delay. At last, however, all difficulties have been surmounted, and I am able to fulfill the final duty of a friend for the cherished deceased. I am sincerely grateful to the publisher for his support and ready helpfulness, which contributed appreciably toward overcoming the not inconsiderable obstacles.

Though the present work is itself the finest monument to preserve for posterity the memory of the departed, yet we two editors feel a sincere need to devote a few words of appreciation to the one so suddenly taken from us. Herr Professor Dr. Price Hammond will do justice to his scientific importance; it is my duty, as a friend, to devote this obituary notice to Merker as a superior human being, to give expression to the feelings that animate all who were privileged to stand close to him, to describe his career and to lend color to the splendid likeness that is placed at the beginning of the work.

/to cont./

114 Moritz Merker was born December 30, 1887, in Oels, Silesia, as the oldest son of the then Oberleutnant Merker, attended the Realgymnasium in Spandau from the summer of 1875 to May, 1888, and then joined the cadet /y/ corps in Lichterfelde. From here, in March, 1897, he entered the Pionierregiment 35, first in Flensburg, then in Sandersleben. In the winter of 1897/98 he was ordered to the Kriegsschule /military academy/ in Glogau, but fell seriously ill there with pulmonary catarrh, which required a protracted cure. From 1899 to 1901 he was then ordered to the Schlossgardekompagnie /Castle Guard Company/, and, after his command expired, he returned to his regiment.

It had always been his aim to join the Pomeranians Troops, and all during his lieutenantship he worked diligently to prepare himself for this service by studying English and French and teaching himself the sciences and skills that might be useful to him for this.

Finally, in May, 1905, his ardent wish was fulfilled. He received his call to the Pomeranian Troops in East Africa, and, overjoyed, he set out on his journey there. He very soon had the good fortune to get to Moshi /Moshi/ on Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/ in the interior and under the command of one of the most outstanding officers of the East African Pomeranian Troops, the present major Johannes. This long-experienced African /Afrikaner/ became his teacher in things African and soon his friend. The love and gratitude with which he speaks of him in his diaries are touching.

Under such excellent guidance he was soon able, when Major Johannes went on leave, to take over the administration of the station, first as a substitute and later, when Johannes was called to another position, completely. He remained in Moshi more than seven years in a row, until 1913, and his stay there was interrupted only by more or less extended official journeys that took him periodically into the bleak districts. This period was rich in struggles with the warlike tribes on Kilimandscharo itself and in its vicinity, but also rich in economic activity and scientific work. I myself became acquainted with him in 1910 in Moshi and even then was most surprised when he showed me the almost

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/1 comp./

completed Masai wk. It is only now, however, when I have his diaries before me, but I understand what infinite diligence, what admirable powers of observation, and what remarkable care were required for him. In the middle of deepest Africa, practically cut off from communication with Europe, to create such a mature and complete work! Only now can I fully appreciate the loss that science, that humanity, has been caused by the all too early death of this outstanding human being and scholar. And I must marvel again and again at the love he gave to his family and friends, at the sympathy with which he devoted himself to the fate of his subordinates, those close to him, at the noble wrath that filled him when confronted with meanness and jealousy, at the intense interest with which he followed important events, and at the strict standard he applied to himself.

In 1910 he was on leave for the first time, in order to bring home his beloved wife. His stay in Germany, despite his being a bridegroom and his only married state, /he/ was filled with the most diligent scientific activity. Rich in new suggestions and strengthened in his scientific endeavours by connections that he had acquired with the foremost leading spirits in his sphere of work, he returned, full of big hopes, with his new wife, to the field of his activity, to Amani. His enemies, however, had been busily at work, and after not so long a time he fell victim to their intrigues. He was recalled from Kilimandscharo, transferred to Dar-es-salam /Dar es Salaam/, at here -- was occupied with the training of recruits! Naturally : was depressed, even though he received many well-meant lines from the highest places and from scientific parties. A physique, unaccustomed to the lowland climate, did not let sufficient resistance under these conditions. The same thing happened to his wife. And soon, from the latter, then he in 1908, constrained to return to Germany, in order to recuperate from the ague fevers.

/at once./

• 114 In 1907 he had regained his health sufficiently to be able once more to undertake the journey out. His wife, however, was not yet able to risk setting out for the tropical climate again; and so he traveled out alone, never to return, without being able to see his beloved wife again. At first he was assigned against the rebels in the Mariandi hills; and then, when he took over the administration of the Moshi District, there was only an inferior, unhealthy dwelling available, in which there was no possibility of sheltering his wife. And a few months later, just when a family dwelling had become available and his wife was preparing for the trip abroad, he succumbed within a few days, far from all his loved ones, to an inflammation of the lungs on February 3, 1910. Just when fortune was beckoning to him again, the treacherous illness took him off and ended a life that still seemed destined for the greatest successes!

What he nevertheless accomplished, despite all hardships, despite sickness and sorrow, even during his darkest days, how indomitable his working strength was -- unfortunately more indomitable than his physical strength -- the proof of this lies before our eyes fully worked up, comprehensive monographs on other African tribes, an enormous quantity of outlines and smaller articles began, infinitely rich, well systematized ethnographic material in his most carefully kept diaries! A wealth of finished works, of studies and observations, which would not only have filled more than a full lifetime extending to advanced years, but would have formed one of the most brilliant and impressive cases! His family and we, his friends, have lost much in him; but even greater is the loss for science. And if I succeed in preserving for it out of his literary remains even only what is now ready for the press, I shall be doing science a great service. May the work presented here find the same favorable reception as his five editions. Berlin, January, 1913. Dr. Sander.

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Ms Meier-x C-6 (1926-ca.1958) 1910 FLIS Miami FLIS

/illegible/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Stammel, Munich.

The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Meier, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Himmi as remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millennia from the Arabian original homeland of the Himmi people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been cleared. As is known, Meier himself was undeniably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Himmi were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also never again as the basis for many enquiries.

First of all, mystification on the part of Meier, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Himmi of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Himmi men who freely imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers: the distinguished Himmi expert, our Bavarian compatriot Haug, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the restless and proud Himmi have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English missionary Albert R. Haggard, who was active there 1900-1910, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 400, that Mr. A. C. Hollis, his eminent authority on the Himmi living in British East Africa, related to him from a Himmi boy in his service, "that the Himmi from whom Captain Meier got much of his information was for many years, during the Himmi famine, connected with a Roman Catholic mission in the neighborhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

/old copy./
In the Church Missionary Society's station in Trevor' /cited in English/, this, as Becker himself told me, can only refer to a priest-nun from whom he received other information: since he did many investigations on /rite/ which his ethnological work is based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different informants, of course. And Stolle' objection (1)

> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1909, in Oxford (at the Congress fÜr Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religions/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased teacher in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Ainoi problem.

due to (Stolle), who was also acquainted with the Ainoi of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history & only an agreement & clientele. Rather the more evidently Ainoi (in Common Sun Ainoi), with whom Becker worked, were more faithful guardians of these ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Becker also had been lucky in gaining their confidence on this point than Stolle, who, just then, did not come across the right people. Becker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the five edition that it was not until the 15th year after the beginning of his work that he came across these traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly rose people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and these are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Becker had completely learned what is set down in the fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Stolle (cf. also C. Blair's introduction to F. C. Stolle, The Ainoi, their language and folklore, p. xiii), the acquaintance of the Ainoi

• [illegible] *Folio copy.]*
and their imaginary worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they perform the duty more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" *[cited in English]*), most conventionally. *Just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Mecker's book, with Mecker's latest is the best apologia for the reliability of Mecker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.*

[illegible] Another commanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Mecker's designation of the Masai as a "Semitic people," and with that does also at the same time against their mention somewhere [illegible] in Arabia (3).

(3) 3. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Missi., 08, 1894, pp. 193–195.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., 08, 1905, p. 105), that here "barriers of linguistic origin are still guarded as Africans never" (but "often and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to ascertain myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains there that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows anon.

[illegible] Not only does their own tradition vouch that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those *[per]* of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Masai, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Masai, their language and folklore, with introduction by C. Elton, Oxford, 1905):

According to Delitzsch, p.278,
Fort one / the Pleiades are only six stars among
[2] the Greek, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
[3] rock inscriptions (in contrast to the seven <u>Kîma</u> of the Babylonian
[4] Gospel symbol); the name of the leader of the religious tradition
[5] of the Greek, <u>al-Nâsiru</u>, coincides entirely with the expression
for prison, <u>Nâsh</u>, in the old Minaean inscription of Tamna (?).

[2+4] 5. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence
of the Greek names that when set | beside
with two to places his spear in front of the bat so
that another will not enter (Jaussen, p. 110 and p.
(10) with the similar custom among the southern
Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by
Doutte (Book IV). — Also that the "center" stands
at the head of the custom in countries of South
Arabia (cf. <u>Qaṣ</u>, chief, actually Khan, as well
as <u>Kîla</u>, "center," probably has its more
etymology, cf. Syriac <u>mallā</u>, queen,

[6] The specifically Ethiopian word <u>Ḥaqal</u>, "ship" (originally pro-
[7] ably "young woman" in general), in the sense of the Greek <u>Ar-</u>
[8] <u>Ḥaqîla</u>, "young woman" (after the characteristic range, <u>Al-</u>
<u>ghazzâl</u>, in the Arabic <u>al-Ḥuṭṭâm</u>, and <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa-garagar</u>,
the Arabic <u>al-Ḥaṭṭâ</u>, <u>al-Ḥaṭṭa</u>, Greek, prefix the Arabic <u>al-Ḥaṭṭa</u>,
<u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>). The name of the Ḥaṭṭa species <u>Ḥaṭṭagara</u>, from which
the Greek take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Jaussen,
p. 27 and cf. p. 134, <u>al-Ḥaṭṭaghâlîyah</u>), a white-scented perfume,
a very resistance of the South Arabian <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u> for frankincense,
<u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>. Just as in general the connection of the second half of a
word, peculiar among the Greek (for example <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>
<u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, a deity), is likewise to be a peculiarity
of Ethiopian, where <u>Ḥ</u> is used especially for <u>Ḥ</u> formation of color
names (<u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, gold green ; <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u> <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, green,
but also <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, harvester ; <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, and the Ḥaṭṭa plant names
<u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>, and <u>Ḥaṭṭa</u>). All these
[10] are indications more than ample Weiher's naming of the Greek as
an originally Ḥaṭṭa and Ḥaṭṭa, more specifically, an Arabian
people were fully justified.

[illegible]
[illegible]

1. With regard to the references to [illegible] popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 30, 20 says "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (*admoni*), play on the word Edom) and was (*rough*) like a hairy garment (*se'ar*) and they named him (Esau=Edom) Seir (*Se'ir*), where the second becomes *se'* to *se'ar* and "as to Seir a sufficient evidence, after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel (*'aqeb*), and they therefore named him *Ya'aqob*." Actually, however, *Yaqob /Ya'aqob/* goes back to a more complete form *Yaqob-el* (in which *El* is the subject, therefore roughly: Esau follows as the best *El*, that is, he rewards or punishes).

[illegible], in any case the matter is not resolved assuming outright errors as, but the imaginative assemblages of the still so strange [illegible], dispersed by no one, is also a scarred and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

I come now to the early history itself, which implies, in Section II of his excursus preceding Fourth Part, the already mentioned, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical traditions. It should be noted in this connection that the document, who, as he will see himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Gehlen, who himself wrote a treatise in 1937 on "the biblische Urgeschichten /the Biblical early history/ (in the *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Bachmann and Kropatschek, Leipzig/Berlin,

[illegible]

[illegible] published by Bibl. Sangra, first series, No. [illegible], had already called attention to his review of Meeker's book in The Babylonian, Year X, 1946, pp. 419-481, to the parallel between the Seven-Tongued Antagonists and Jubalk /Jeyuk/, Genesis IV, 22. The more important, however, is the fact that the Ideal, from the creation of the world to the Flood, exactly like the Sabbaths in Gen. 1, counts seven ancestors, the seventh of whom but three was, whose correspondence to the Biblical name is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx: in the translation below, the succession for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

[illegible]	Adam
Kenâlâa	Seth /Shes/ (5)
Amma (5)	Enosh /Enesh/

5. Samael el Bain /Ferra/. Since among the seven the first number is yet dearly before the Flood (in the continuation of sense or judgment), there also fails to take place here the story of Kain and Habel, which, in its own, by way of allusion, never again to Enoch (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. Jubal = Habel /Shes/, Jubal = Kain /Ferra/ and Tubal = Hanoch /Henoch/, so the original was probably easily for it is to be noted that Kenâlâa had a twelve Gida, from whom the Kainonites are descended (Kain /Ferra/, of course, means "blacksmith").

6. On which the first knot, [illegible] Kain /Ferra/ holds the first city for Hanoch /Enoch/, which he names Hanoch, after Hanoch's name.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Text cont./

[illegible] If one considers two common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as al-'Ezza, 'Uzzâba, 'Uzzâh (from 'Uzzâbâ), etc., there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Aramaic, to think of the Israelites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. Since Lidzb. *al-Ghaws*, if are to be compared with, say, the Arabian *al-Ghaûth* (*Abyssinian Studies*, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic *Hôshêa*) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Ghaz, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since al-Ghaza's son Ludza search masculinity similar to Ghaz's grandson Ba'l (L.O.D. Payne, *Appearances of Ba'l in...*, August) Gen. 11, 16, which again, however, only points directly back to that Arabian, the original son of all the western branches, above the Aramaic 'Ghaz-Aziz (?)

> 1. Cf. in his connection my [illegible] (Helsinki, 1954), p. 104, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian classes of peoples.

[illegible] While the latest early historians, as they finally become available to readers after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the latest, such as the because known to Arabic is British that Africa, more than are to be regarded as close echoes of the ancient myths. Among these I mean [illegible] after Gaelic slaves (p. 170) about the god Heterocephalus (the mind), Saxonian, but the feminine article, that the originalness of the earth, the forecourt of the land), whose favorites the fire of the latest has become a deity, whereas the ancient would be much less understandable; or the covering of the cattle from heavens (Gaelic, p. 170), cf. Another, p. 169), or the story of [illegible]'s disobedience (Gaelic, p. 171), in which I see a fairly considerable of Gaelic's account of the fall, as strikingly according with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the planting together of the two of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (cp. to the Cassite), then the preservation of the particular

Fronk, page 1

Notices among the Manel, with all the rest, is not so astonishing [illegible]

1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lwigbiffelo, Matthew, III, 4ff., is curiously to be compared with the name I-Tigbiwiberki, which the Somali have among the Manel (Stella, p. 10).

I conclude these considerations with the certain expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early historian of the Manel will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early times (or all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A. D., or through the Jewish Falasha /Felasha/ on the border of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Manel, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Mischer already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the Jewgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, as points not touched on by

1R Merker--xxvi C-S (1890-ca.1900) 1910 PLSS Minn: PLSS

/xxii cont./
the Bible (2).

• 114
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2. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (damnani : tiâmat) Nenamir, and Ki-Nunir, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Kerinna of the Zendavesta, where the three-headed dragon Dahâka-Zohak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Minni) near Singulis; cf. also the snake of the tree e'nauir, Merker, p. 373, and the above-mentioned (p. xvii) Minni etymology of Nenamir, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian gîr-ku-nir (from gîr-ku nu-nir), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss /Outline/, p. 378, footnote 4).

completely exclude any doubt.

Pl. 1. [illegible] from below Kilengere.

[illegible] That various customs of dress and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, whose claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and sub-summit whether the Wakwafwa and the Wakwafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that these travelers have come into contact with them only superficially. [illegible] have conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, as that they regarded the Wakwafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Wakwafi blood as Wakwafi.

[illegible]
[illegible] and would cause [illegible] and death to [illegible] and [illegible]. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a [illegible], any more than one ever grants him such privileges. The services owning from [illegible] families do not live in the ordinary warrior [illegible], but in the smaller [illegible] warriors (of complex | of culture | of language) and only with daughters of [illegible]. They do not go out to the battlefield with the other warrior [illegible], but stand, and solemnly bring along, when they [illegible] are [illegible] to combat, only a little-heavy [illegible], which [illegible] strength is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. [illegible] [illegible] does not marry the daughter of an of [illegible], just as the latter's son does not desire to marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised [illegible] race. Even the conventional association with a woman or girl belonging to the [illegible] is regarded as disgrace for any other [illegible]. It is believed that he will remain a hero [illegible] will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next hunt expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How deprived the [illegible] are is shown by the fact that a [illegible] does not dare to pronounce the word "of [illegible]" when the moon of darkness [illegible]

[illegible]

1. When [illegible] the people, when it [illegible] in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the of [illegible], begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of [illegible] 11, 1901, when I was occupied near a foreign settlement on the upper southeast of [illegible]. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The men opposing the [illegible] made me responsible for this incident. "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the of [illegible] last evening; we have so often told you this."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] Section [illegible] (1889-no. [illegible]) [illegible] Statute [illegible]
Statutes [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Appendix III.

[illegible] description and measurement of the bodies of [illegible] cases (1).

1. The relatively exact number of cases is explained by the fact that the records of [illegible] cases were lost.

and 40 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurements.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "mixed" or "Berber."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique outward position of the upper portion [illegible] is entirely [illegible] artificial.

No. 1.

(3 [illegible]), [illegible], no. 37 years old, a native of the Aegean area [illegible]. Lineage: (1) [illegible].

[illegible] (1) [illegible] 1 (2) [illegible] [illegible] (1) [illegible] 1 (2) [illegible]

[illegible] of (lineage)

[illegible]. Soft gene [illegible]. Hair color: [illegible] and [illegible] dark-gray - [illegible] brown (15), [illegible] [illegible], back of head dark brown (20), piece of head gray-reddish brown [illegible] lighter than (3), [illegible] black-reddish brown (27), slightly [illegible] lighter.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

● [illegible]

[For comments, see category [illegible], pp. [illegible], and [illegible].]